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A COLORED MAN'S EXPOSITION

— OF —

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THE ACTS AND DOINGS

— OF THE —

RADICAL PARTY SOUTH,

From 1865 to 1876,

— AND —

ITS PROBABLE OVERTHROW BY PRESIDENT HAYES'  
SOUTHERN POLICY.

COMMENCING WITH A DESCRIPTION OF THE FREEDMEN'S BUREAU  
AND SAVINGS AND TRUST COMPANY, AS POLITICAL MA-  
CHINES, AND CONCLUDING WITH PRESIDENT  
HAYES' SOUTHERN POLICY.

IN SEVEN NOTES.

— BY —

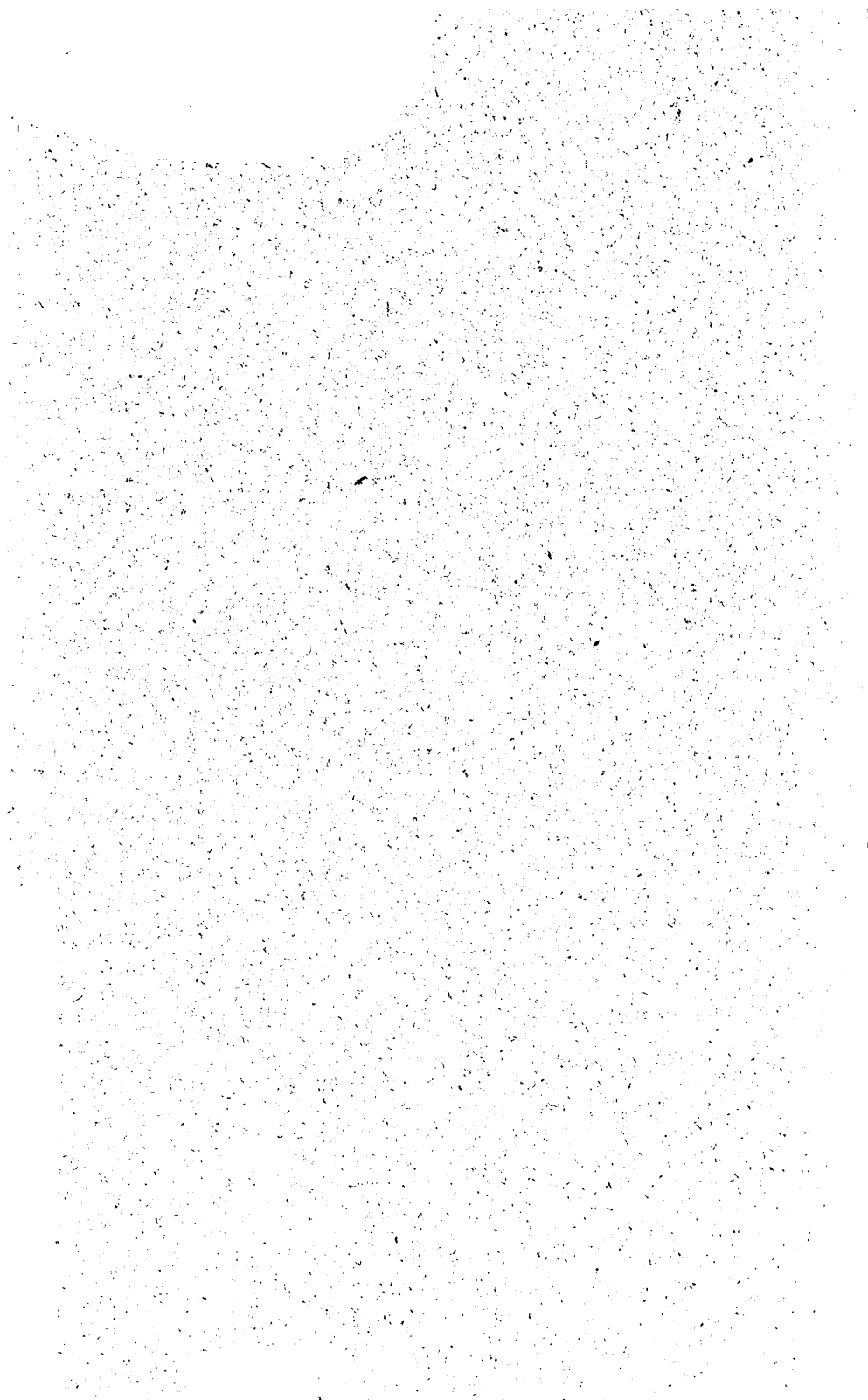
JOHN T. SHUFTEN, ESQ.,

JACKSONVILLE, FLA.,

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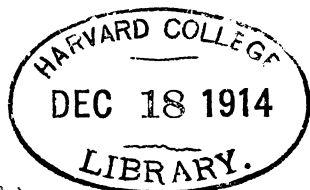
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*Bright fund*

## PREFACE.

The object of the Author, in publishing these notes, is to place upon record the acts and doings of that party that was elevated and maintained in power in these Southern States by negro suffrage; and that an intelligent and impartial public may understand and possibly judge the cause of that long reign of terror and political disorder and strife, which this section has been cursed with since the days of reconstruction. It is for an unbiased public to judge of the honesty and sincerity of that stock of office-seekers that took possession of the country immediately after the war, and, whose mal-administrations have nearly bankrupted every Southern State, or forced them in self defence to repudiate the fraudulent debts they created upon the people, without their consent, or from which they never have or ever will receive any benefit.

The Author, being colored himself, may have been rather partial in exonerating the colored people from blame, where they may have deserved it, but the reasons and arguments set forth are open to the criticism of all, and no doubt an impartial judge will not hesitate in making up his mind or in drawing his conclusions, for there is nothing that he has stated that he did not feel in duty bound to state in compiling these notes, and to do justice to the subject, after considering the record Radicalism has made in those States, where its authority has been absolute.

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NOTE—The author regrets that in this first edition of these notes there has appeared a few grammatical and typographical errors, which, at the time of publishing the same, was almost unavoidable; and where such errors do occur in the perusal of these notes, it is the desire of the author that the quaint, sensitive and pedantic critic will not allow his sensibilities to be shocked by the want of euphonic harmony in coming in contact with such words, but that he will please supply such deficiencies to suit his taste and scholastic precision.

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## NOTE FIRST.

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### NOTE FIRST IS A DESCRIPTION OF THE FREEDMEN'S BUREAU AND UNION LEAGUE.

I propose to write an account of Republicanism at the South, from 1865 to the close of 1876. And in doing this, I shall endeavor to express the truth, without fear or favor to any one, bearing in mind, at the same time, that no matter how truthful or candid the political history of those years may be narrated, it will meet with opposition and denial from all those who have taken part in its shameful and corrupt practices. Nor am I insensible to the amount of chagrin and false accusation that this account will produce from those who are ignorant and blind followers of the party, or from those intelligent, but corrupt leaders, whose selfish ends and motives may be somewhat thwarted and exposed; and while I also, in this connection, announce myself an independent thinker and actor, for all futurity, I shall be liberal enough to accord the same privilege to every citizen of this great commonwealth, leaving all argument to their careful deliberation, and the conclusions to their honest judgment.

It will be remembered that, at the close of the war, in 1865, the South was immediately overrun by a class of adventurers from the North, who saw at once a vast field for political speculation, that would eventually result in elevating them to some high political position in the State or National Government, and, at the same time, increase their pecuniary condition, both present and future; and with a foresightedness and judgment known only to the yankee, they went to work with a view of attaining this end. The introduction of that institution called the Freedmen's Bureau was truly opportune for the furtherance of this purpose, as will be better understood in the sequel. The class of men that were appointed to manage its affairs and superintend its operations in these States, were, in most instances, irresponsible creatures, destitute of moral principles, and whose chief aim was to work it in a spirit prejudicial to the whites, and to please the fancy and caprice of the ignorant blacks.

The law creating this Bureau was, in the main, difficult and intricate in its meaning. It made its officers, trustees, guardians and judges, and gave them military and civil jurisdiction over the affairs of the people at the same time. They could sit as military dictators if it suited their fancy, and deal summarily with all who dared to appear before them, regarding the rights of the complainant or defendant according to their humor or whims. They being in most instances officers or meritorious privates from the Union Army, they came among the people with hearts ill prepared to do right to the one class, and well prepared to do wrong to the other; nor could it be expected that they should like or have much love for that section of country that they had so recently devastated, overrun and laid waste with fire and sword.

The whites they particularly hated because they had fought against them, and in many instances had left them minus a leg, arm, or hand, a token of remembrance not easily forgotten, and in the blacks they saw a golden opportunity to gratify their malignant hate against the late rebels, as well as a glorious field for speculation present and future. Thus their courts were thronged daily with petty suitors with complaints that an ordinary domestic sire would scorn to notice among the smallest of children.

These frivolous quarrels and complaints they often encouraged between the whites and blacks, because in almost every instance it resulted beneficially to them in a pecuniary sense, from fines and a kind of *quasi* judicial confiscation of rebel personalty. Such questions as to who should walk on the inside or outside of the sidewalks, between white and colored females; controversies between former masters and servants, where the lie was passed during some heated dispute that tended to wound the feelings of the nation's wards, received special cognizance, and was often made matter of record in this court. Petit larceny, assault and battery, cheating and swindling, and an innumerable host of common law offences were tried, condemned, and punished without having any evidence that tended to traverse the first fact sworn to. In hundreds of instances it was useless to make complaint, for with judges with such feelings, minds and hearts, the intelligent portion of the community looked upon the courts with horror and disgust, while these agents or offi-

cers of the Freedmen's Bureau were possessed with a judicial authority—without limit or bound. They were also looked upon by the colored people as their guardians and benefactors. The commissary stores that were placed under their immediate control and direction had a divine effect in its dispensation, for its operation proved twice blessed--it blessed him that gave and he that received. The freedman was satisfied with only half of what the Government allowed him; the agent was truly satisfied to have the opportunity of pocketing the remainder for his own use, and in this way there was but little misunderstanding between guardian and ward; but on the contrary, the ward had the utmost faith and confidence in the guardian, and the guardian was confident of using his ward in the bright future that loomed up before him.

Being thus situated, these agents were enabled to learn the strange and peculiar habits and dispositions of the freedmen, as well as to take advantage of their natural infirmities and credulous nature. They found them extremely ignorant, credulous and superstitious, easily lead and duped, and above all, full of fancy and high notions about their freedom and liberty. There is no wonder that a class of people, raised and brought up as the slaves of the South—ignorant, illiterate, and irresponsible in every sense of the word—should have fallen into many errors, and committed manifold blunders at everything they undertook or tried to do; nor will an unprejudiced public condemn the acts and doings of a class of people who, when made free, were too ignorant to understand rightly what it meant.

In thousands of instances, it was their solemn belief that freedom meant a total exemption from toil, the hardship of life, and every kind of responsibility, and when, through the machination and influence of the Freedmen's Bureau, these ideas and notions were strengthened with the brightest hopes of the future, they are rather to be pitied for their mistakes than condemned.

It was through this agency the colored people of the South, were taught their first lessons in politics. In secret conclaves, and dismal hovels, under cover of night, the ears of the ignorant blacks were made to hear sweet things of a heavenly nature. There the beauties, the grandeur and glory of the electoral franchise were painted in their richest colors, tinged in every hue that would suit the imagination and exalt the soul, in an-

ticipation of the honors and dignities of a golden future. The old slaves of sixty and seventy years, with their broad grins and toothless gums, were there, drinking in inspiration that animated the soul, and transported with inexpressible rapture to a youthful Eden of endless rest and ease. The old women and their dusky maidens looked upon these agents as demi-gods, and stood ready at all times to resent any insinuation touching their honesty or sincerity, with wholesale abuse, not unmixed at times with imprecations that could possibly be understood to mean anything less than the other side of purgatory. It was in these secret meetings that the fabulous tales of forty acres and a mule originated, and confiscation ideas made some of the leading subjects for discussion. Lands were apportioned by imagination, and fine rebel mansions seized by hope. Gentlemen of African descent saw themselves rearbacked with all the pomp and dignity of princes in their old masters' carriages, happy with the thought of being monarch of all they surveyed. Civil right bills were to be passed by Congress, that would allow them to occupy front seats in white churches, sit at the same table with their former masters, and be respected with all the modern civilities in their parlors and drawing rooms.

Besides these illusive notions and fanciful dreams of their new situation, there were other ideas of a far more serious nature that insinuated themselves into their heads, and which have brought forth an incalculable amount of evil to the whole race. It was thought among about three fourths of the colored population that freedom meant ease and comfort, a release from the cares and responsibilities of life, a state of idleness, indolence, and vagrancy, and that all would go well, work or play. These ideas were made the more reasonable, when we consider the charitable assistance this class received from the Government during the first year after their emancipation, as a part of the operation of the Freedmen's Bureau; and, with these strange ideas, came also a great change in the domestic relations between the two races.

Thousands of families were seriously embarrassed by the sudden and unexpected changes that took place between former owners and servants. Men and women left their employment without a moment's preparation or warning, and without know-

ing where they were going or what they would do. Farm hands were seized with the same malady, and left the country in torrents, to enjoy the pleasures of city life, there, as they thought, to be no more awakened at early dawn by the old farm horn. Thus there was a general stampede and exodus from the country, and an obnoxious influx into the cities and towns. The Freedmen's Bureau agencies were besieged daily by tens of thousands of hungry souls waiting to be fed, as a right they claimed from the Government for having been made free.

From the effects and consequences of this change the country has never recovered. Plantations and farms by thousands were allowed to grow up in weeds for the want of labor to cultivate them, for colored hands could no longer be bossed and overseered, from a false notion that it savored too much of the slavery from which they had just escaped.

The domestic servants of the cities and towns thought it beneath the dignity of a free and independent people to be found any longer attending to their accustomed domestic duties under any contract, stipulation, or pay; and these false notions of freedom were not dissipated until the Freedmen's Bureau ceased its operation, and the people left in a worse condition than it had found them. The country having been recently layed waste by the ravage of the war, and every avenue of industry and prosperity crippled or suspended, hard times set in, as a legitimate sequence, and carried thousands away from starvation and want.

Through all these changes and vicissitudes of the freedmen, could be found the schemy adventurer or lank-jawed carpet-bagger, still engaged in inculcating ideas and notions of the future political greatness of these newly emancipated slaves, and what the Government intended to do for them; their chief object being to gain the confidence of the people for speculative purposes and for future use, knowing as they did, that their ignorance and want of experience fitted them as pliant tools, to be lead and controlled for every purpose consistent with their vague ideas of freedom. By such teachings, a universal mistrust pervaded the entire population, as to all acts of a native white or former master. They were taught that no good could come out of Nazareth, and that every act of a former master, no matter how fair and honorable it might seem, was to be regarded as a



bait to re-enslave them, and reduce them to the same status from which they had just been delivered. Among the chief arguments used, and which had the most powerful effect in controlling their passions and swaying their judgment, were such as "I fought to make you free," "I fought four years for you colored people;" "we yankees, as the rebels called us, have always been your only friends," and a thousand other arguments that tended to gain their confidence and rule their passions.

Besides these official agents of the Freedmen's Bureau, there was another class of pecksniffs who canted affectionate language through their nose, accompanied with a long puritanical twang that would make an angel flap its wings and weep in sorrow. This force was auxiliary to the Freedmen's Bureau agency, and was capable of descending to a lower degree of infamy to carry out their purposes than most of the Bureau officials.

The work assigned these nondescripts, was to visit the huts and hovels of the ignorant and illiterate freedmen in the rural districts, but, like Nicodemus, always by night. There the game of mock social equality was carried on to perfection and to an unlimited degree. They would sit at the same table with the dusky sire, and treat his ebony progeny with the utmost civility. His deportment and manner were exceedingly captivating, trimmed and fringed in almost every instance, with a pharisaical sanctity. They could fondle and dandle colored babies upon their knees, and wipe the tears from their eyes with their own soft handkerchiefs, and if that did not suffice, they would impress a gentle kiss upon the dark brow of the fretful pigmy, to the inexpressible delight of the fond mother.

Then they would begin their long tale of what they did to free them, and place them on an equality with all men; that they abhorred any distinction on account of color or race, and would not be satisfied until their colored countrymen were recognized upon a complete social and political equality with all men; that they would soon have the power of making such laws as they wanted, if they would only look out and elect the right kind of men to office; and among these right kind of men they, themselves, were the most prominent and fitting candidates. They were also a very religious set of individuals, and were always in their places at the meeting houses. Their prayers were exceedingly long, and directed exclusively

to the passions of the people. They thanked God that the colored people were free, that their poor hearts had been made to run over with joy and gladness at the joyous sight before their eyes. That they now, like good old Simeon, had seen with their own eyes that which they had prayed for in the North years ago, and now, instead of desiring to depart in peace as that good old saint of old, they desired to stay and speculate a little upon so glorious a salvation. They also could preach good things to the colored people, and quote passages of Scripture to suit their case. They were also school masters of extraordinary ability; they professed to be able to take them from the alphabet through every rule in grammar in three months time, and in six they could solve any problem in geometry or trigonometry and be first-class *belles lettres* scholars in one year from date.

They were really a wonderful set, a combination of prodigies, so to speak, among the colored people wherever they went or located for a season. They also became the colored people's oracles, to be consulted on all occasions—upon every subject of importance or non-importance—and their answers and instructions were like the laws of the Medes and Persians. Their property—real, personal and mixed—consisted of a carpet-bag, containing a shirt and a half, and an army blanket, and sometimes a great coat. They seemed to be averse to too much luggage, as it tended to obstruct their easy flight in case of danger. Their pedigree no one knew; it was rumored that they were distant relatives of that mysterious personage mentioned in the holy scriptures, by the name of Melchisedec; for truly they seemed to be without beginning or ending, and past finding out, unless by diligent search among the archives of sing-sing, or some other distinguished institution of the same order. Then they were also the sublime-grand-worshipful masters of the Union League, an institution conceived in sin and born in iniquity; a pandora box of mischief and rascality.

This institution was a secret concern that required an oath on entering, and another in leaving the order, and two or three additional oaths during the meetings, to make it more solemn and impressive to the members in particular, and the order generally. The meeting places, on all occasions, were in some upstairs room of some out-of-the-way building, and called a lodge,

a thing that a colored freedman never heard of before the war, and, if he did, he had no idea or conception of what it meant. In this lodge, so styled, and no doubt appropriately so too, the old and young freedmen assembled at regular appointed times, as the ancients used to repair to Delphi, to learn of the oracles the news, and to receive fresh orders for their future conduct. In this lodge room there was a center table, covered with a large black cloth, and on this table, were placed two broad swords and the Holy Bible, and, to make the scene more solemn, there was also hanging in folds, opposite the table against the wall, the United States flag. The meetings were invariably opened with a long prayer, followed with a long lecture. Then came the reading of the minutes of the previous meeting, after which new business was in order, which new business meant the introduction of candidates for membership, and for carrying them through the swearing process. At the fall of the gavel the ante room door was opened and a dozen or more frightened and trembling freedmen would be marched into the sanctum, when his sublime-grand-worshipful-ship would rise and begin to explain the mysteries of the League, and what the lodge and members expected of them, if they should be admitted as members, and how binding the oath was upon conscience, all of which they were enjoined to promise before they could be sworn and received into the order. While this ceremony was going on, the utmost silence prevailed. All along the side benches sat old and young freedmen, some with solemn countenances, and others with anxious and interested looks; but few understood what it all meant. They were told that all this meant freedom, and that was sufficient, especially when told so by one who knew all the roads and by-paths to freedom. When these lectures were over then came the swearing-in process, and a general explanation of the swords and Bible; the grip and pass word was given that would enable the possessor to go all over the country, and be admitted as a man and brother. When these solemn duties were over, his sublime-grand-worshipful-ship would tell them of the Canaan to which they were traveling, if they would only be true to themselves and trust the right men to lead them through the wilderness. The acts of Congress were also related with sparkling delight. They were told how it was working for them,

and would continue to work until they were equal with all men; and this and a thousand other fanciful tales usually ended the early meetings of the Union League. By such means, the early carpet-baggers were enabled to control whole counties and districts, and lead the people as if with a magic wand.

NOTE SECOND.

NOTE SECOND RELATES TO RECONSTRUCTION AND LEGISLATIONS UNDER THE EARLY CARPET-BAGGERS.

If, after the war was over and the slaves of the Southern States declared free and made citizens; they had been visited by a different class of men from the Northern States, no doubt that the condition of all classes of citizens would have been better than what it is at present. We would have had more order and more general prosperity throughout the country. But when we take into consideration the fact, that out of the whole number of Northern men who visited the South immediately after the war with the intention of settling, nine-tenths of them came for the express purpose of engaging in politics and to seek office. Those who did not expect it by the popular vote, looked forward to some Federal appointment that was lucrative as well as pleasant, and they went to work with a view to that end. They understood pretty well the situation of affairs down South, and did not hesitate to ally themselves on the winning side. The Southern whites, knowing their intentions, looked upon their coming with disfavor, and consequently refused to extend to them the privileges of social intercourse. Thus a war of feeling, and a spirit of antagonism, was brought about between the Northern Republicans and the Southern Democrats that has never been compromised.

The enfranchisement of the blacks, and placing the ballot into their hands so soon after their emancipation, as well as the coercive policy of the United States Government toward

the late States in rebellion, denying them admission or representation until they had ratified the new amendments to the Constitution, placing the colored people upon a civil and political equality with them, were blows that tended to humiliate them more than ten thousand defeats upon the field of battle.

But knowing that it was useless to attempt to resist any longer the strong arm of the conquering power, they yielded to that irresistible power with a spirit and magnanimity that showed an inward patience and fortitude that has challenged the admiration of the civilized world. What more could be expected of a people, coming out of the war as they did, with poverty staring them in the face on every side, to see their once happy, but then desolate homes, draped in mourning; dejected by defeat and care-worn by toil and suffering, how could it be expected that they would receive these new emissaries of mischief, only with scorn and contempt.

Here I am forced to admit that the Southern whites are, in a measure, responsible themselves for a great deal of the evils that have followed the bad and corrupt government of the Southern States after their reconstruction and admission in the Union, for, had they pursued a different course, and adopted a different policy from the beginning, and exerted themselves, as an intelligent people should have done, and strove for the mastery of the situation from the start, with new ideas, conforming more to the changed condition of affairs, history would never have had an opportunity to record such shocking barbarities as were perpetrated by what was called the Ku-Klux-Klan, an organization whose purposes and aims soon compelled the more refined and intelligent portion of the Southern whites to condemn it as revolting to the sensibilities of this civilized and christian age.

When universal suffrage was declared to be a fixed fact, and the late freedmen were clothed with the constitutional privilege of voting, the carpet-baggers found themselves not only masters of the situation, but of the colored people's hearts also. They had so worked upon their imaginations, and pandered to their passions, that it had brought about a confidence that was dangerous to question. They were the right men, and only men fitted, to send to the reconstruction conventions, the inspired leaders and Moseses that would take them safe to the

new Canaan of freedom. So, the consequence was at the first general election to choose delegates to the reconstruction conventions, there was elected to this important work, inexperienced whites who knew as much about reconstructing a State as a blacksmith does about making a suit of clothes. It is true, that many of them possessed a liberal common-school education, but such an education fitted them more for book-keepers and salesmen than that of statesmen. And besides their want of experience and ability, there was still a more ignorant class associated with them in the work.

There were freedmen—fresh from the plows and cornfields—taken up in all their ignorance and stupidity, and made citizens and statesmen, to assist in the work of reconstruction; men who voted only as they were told or directed, and by signs and symbols. So that, when the farce of reconstructing the States was over, it amounted to little more than copies of the old State Constitutions, altered and modified in such a manner as to make them unintelligible to the legislatures that were to be guided by, as well as the people who were to obey them.

The success of these new comers in the opening drama of negro suffrage stimulated them to greater efforts and a more determined purpose to reach a higher goal in the political horizon. They calculated every inch, with a mathematical precision, to every political position in the State, and were contented to know that it was only a question of time before their fondest hopes would be realized. They had only an ignorant and thoughtless population to deal with, and the greater part of the work of controlling them had been already accomplished through the machinations of the Freedmen's Bureau and Union League, so that, when the elections were ordered, all that was necessary for them to do, was to receive the nominations, which, under the circumstances, meant their election.

In the elections that followed in pursuance of the reconstructive constitutions, there never was, in the history of any people, such a return made for a legislature as those made under the auspices of negro suffrage. It was a conglomeration of ignorance, stupidity and imbecility—of innocent ignorance and unscrupulous rascality—to do what no one knew, only so far as concerned himself personally, and that was how much pay would each receive at the end of the session.

For those who sent them there expected to have new laws enacted, laws that would establish at once social equality, and wipe away all distinction on account of color or race. Others thought of the confiscation acts that were to be passed, that would allow them to take possession of land and property generally, without price or pay. Others were contented with any law that would give them the promised "forty acres and a mule." It is not to be denied that these promises were made.

While the constituents were expectantly awaiting on their legislative servants to do all they had promised, the legislative servants seemed to have forgotten all the promises they had made to their constituents, and were busily engaged in other matters, far more profitable to them individually than by paying attention to the whimsical notions of their illiterate constituents. Great railroad speculators had come down from the North, with great projects and schemes, that would develop the resources of the States and bring about untold prosperity to the people in general. These railroads were to be built from nowhere to nowhere, and all that was necessary to push the matter through at once was State aid. Day after day plans were submitted to the legislature that not one member out of every thirty knew what the preamble meant. Drawings and maps were spread before the ignorant colored members that tended only to make them wonder what it meant, while the more scheming and unscrupulous carpet-baggers did not care anything about what it meant so long as they received a handsome pay for their votes, and the controlling of a dozen or so more. The colored members invariably voted as they were directed by their white leaders; for they, being in most cases extremely ignorant and stupid—having no will, thought or judgment of their own, and but few, if any, could spell a syllable or write their name with a cross-mark—nothing less could be expected of them than to be used and sold by their new masters whenever a good price was offered.

These colored men were placed on the ticket in many instances to fill up or make out the required number from the county, and for no other purpose, and that, too, with the understanding that their white leaders would take care of them, and see that they voted right; and to them they looked to be directed in all matters pertaining to their legislative duties. Many

of these men had never been twenty miles from their homes during their lives; knew nothing but to wait around the house and preach the gospel out of an elementary spelling book. So, with such colleagues, it was the easiest thing imaginable to bargain, trade and sell their votes whenever an opportunity presented itself. When we began to hear of State aid and endorsements, the issuing of millions of bonds for this project and that scheme. Then we began to hear of foreign bond-holders, and Wall Street brokers, and when the ignorant members were asked what all this meant, they declared that they did not know. I remember asking one of the colored Georgia legislators what all these State endorsements were for, and he said "dat was what I did not know," and I thought at the time he spoke the truth for himself and many others. It was humiliating to think to what purpose those honest, but ignorant men, had been brought by that unscrupulous gang of thieves. Was there any excuse for such a notorious attempt to bankrupt the States, rob the treasuries, and burden the people with debt to the third and fourth generations? Let an honest public answer.

Besides these railroad schemes, there were other matters that engaged their attention and made up part of their principal business. The art of creating new offices for the accommodation of idle and profligate political wire-workers was carried on to perfection. These offices, such as clerkships, pages, and messengers, were created and sold to the highest bidder. Members of the legislature would sell them, with the understanding that half of the salary would be turned over to A or B member, getting the appointment from the chief clerk, and by this course, the chief clerks, instead of having only the necessary number of assistant clerks, would have almost a regiment, doing nothing but drawing their pay, and increasing taxation upon the people. The pay of members, including mileage, was enormous, considering the impoverished condition of the States; but the condition of the States, nor the circumstances of the people, seemed to have but little influence in deterring those interlopers in carrying out their purposes; for so intent were they on making money that they forgot everything else pertaining to their duties as legislators.

Not only were these reconstruction legislatures corrupt and



wantonly perpetrated acts that will ever stand as a record of infamy among the archives of the States—but the chief executives, the reconstruction Governors, were accessories before the fact to all acts and schemes having for their object plunder and crime. They would approve any and everything that was passed by the legislatures, without the slightest hesitancy or scruple. They seemed to have but one object in view, and that was, a continuance in office and a chance to make money. Outside of this, they cared but little for the State or country. Schemes and projects that they knew to be a fraud and imposition upon the State, and that bore upon their face villainy and rascality, were winked and connived at, with the understanding that there was a private deposit placed at their disposal in some bank, foreign or domestic.

In the first sessions of these reconstruction legislatures, it will be remembered that United States Senators were to be elected to fill unexpired terms caused by the late war, the States then in rebellion having no representation in Congress during that time. These high positions were to be filled by somebody, and as everybody wanted to be elected, the legislatures, in two or three instances, came very near electing a Mr. Nobody. Talent, ability, nor merit had any influence in swaying the judgment of many of the legislatures; neither did the moral or social status of the aspirant receive any attention or consideration; money and not men was the momentous question, and all eyes, hands and hearts were turned in that direction. Then commenced a traffic in the sale of public office, the consequence of which has had a tendency to corrupt the entire body politic, and brand with eternal infamy those who have been guilty of so black a public crime.

Men by this process were sent to Congress, whom an intelligent colored man felt ashamed to meet and recognize at the National Capitol. So inferior and unqualified were they for these positions, that many sections of the country only knew that the other was represented, by looking upon the registers or pay-rolls. Besides these "angust" Senators in the Senate, we had another blessed set of figure-heads in the House of Representatives, who did nothing for whole terms but write Fitzhugh letters to their ignorant constituents; forward Government seed,

or when in their seats, gaze at intelligent members from other sections, and draw their pay at the end of the session.

From the sudden elevation of these upstarts to those high political positions, sprung also another evil that has well nigh killed the Republican party in the Southern States. It seemed as if everybody and everything, moving or creeping, animate or inanimate, that belonged to the Republican party, wanted office. It got abroad that an office was a nice thing, a thing that had plenty of money in it, and consequently everybody wanted to get one. It was a new love for office, not like in former times, when men sought positions for the honor and dignity of the thing—who served their country for their country's good—it was otherwise with this new creation of office-seekers. It was for each man or individual's good that he wanted to serve his country. The return of the colored members of the State Legislatures to their constituents with plenty of greenbacks, their share of the spoils, and the purchasing of mules, horses and lands, all combined, brought about an ambition and jealousy that has ever made the party a party of bickering and strife. As many of the first legislators went up to represent the people, without knowing how to read or write, and came back safe without any external or visible harm, others with about the same qualifications thought they had a right to go the next trip, to serve their country and receive a few greenbacks, and thus a war for office was commenced that has made at times a Republican county convention little less than a political pandemonium.

The cry was office! office! office! give me office or give me death. Cornfield hands, cartmen, draymen, waiters, barbers, preachers, and a numberless multitude of others, began to cry out for office, and of course this caused great dissatisfaction among those who were defeated in the nomination, and the result, in hundreds of instances, was the running of two tickets in the same party, the consequence of which was sure defeat.

The white carpet-bagger found it difficult at times to control this ambitious spirit among the people for these small places in the county, and often they have been forced, in disgust, to give up their opposition to some foolhardy colored aspirant, and fall in and support him to save their own bacon, to the disgrace and humiliation of the more intelligent portion of the

community. This love for office has well nigh demoralized one-fourth of the colored population of the South, and unfitted them for industry and usefulness. I have known men of good trades, that would pay them an average wages of two dollars and fifty cents per day, leave off their work to talk politics, without pay, or go canvassing, and pay their own expenses, or accept some little appointment, such as justice of the peace or constable, and out of which they could not possibly earn a competent living for their families; yet they were perfectly satisfied with the happy thought of being an officer and in authority. It seemed that to be an officer of some kind, without regard to the fee or emolument emanating therefrom, was the height of a colored man's ambition.

Among the most prominent office-seekers of the colored persuasion of the South, was that class that bore the name and style of preachers, irrespective of denomination. This class was in a position, at the time of the enfranchisement of the freedmen, to sway an extraordinary influence, and have an unlimited control over the people generally. They were looked upon as the leading colored men of each community, and fitted for politics as well as religion, and, as they met with no opposition from those whom they lead in spiritual matters, but on the contrary received their support, they soon became the controlling element in the State as well as the church, in the Republican party; so that at one time the legislatures were filled with preachers, both white and colored. The white carpet-baggers, in the beginning, were all preachers, with forged licenses or recommendations, and of course they exerted an influence in proportion to their colored colleagues. This being the case, this holy set of rascals soon found themselves corrupted and demoralized, and as susceptible to the perpetration of crime as the most unpretending sinners. From this evil departure of these so called ministers of Christ, the christian church has been made to suffer shame and contempt from the outside world; religion has been mocked at, and the few faithful derided as hypocrites.

There has never been, in the history of the colored race at the South, such a demoralized condition of the churches, as exists at present among almost every denomination, and the whole of this deplorable state of their religious affairs are at-

tributable to the corrupt political preachers from the school of the same stock of unprincipled adventurers who have led them from their plain christian duties into the filthy slough of American politics.

At one time the churches and government school houses were the only places where political meetings were held, nominations made, and candidates set on foot; there vulgar debates and political quarrels were indulged in, to the delight of a rabble crowd of blackguards. But all this being for the benefit of the minister in charge, in most instances, or out of which he expected to have his axe ground, he readily consented to it without the slightest hesitancy or conscientious scruples. Such conduct in men calling themselves ministers of the Gospel of Christ cannot pass free without meeting the frowns and just condemnation of every intelligent christian community, nor will they be able in a day of reckoning to free themselves from the responsibility of having caused the present deplorable condition of the christian churches among the colored population.

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### NOTE THIRD.

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NOTE THIRD RELATES TO THE FREEDMEN'S SAVINGS AND TRUST COMPANY AS A POLITICAL MACHINE.

These original leaders of the Republican party at the South did not only rob the States of millions of money and bring on an almost insupportable burden of taxation upon the people and stop there; this, it seemed, was not enough to satiate their ungovernable appetites for making money by means of plunder and crime, but they were determined to take advantage of every opportunity that presented itself, regardless of age, sex, or condition, and as these mighty schemes were systematically arranged and understood by all concerned, whether in office or out, there was no possible chance for them to fail in accomplishing the end in view. Therefore, while some were engaged

in schemes of public plunder, we find their associates engaged in another direction with different means to effect the same purpose—this purpose being to rob the ignorant colored people in a private and secret way; and thus we find a banking scheme invented, under the name and style of the "Freedmen's Savings and Trust Company." It will be remembered that among these Savings and Trust men the most prominent were that same class of adventurers, and carpet-baggers who came down with the Freedmen's Bureau, and other auxiliary emissaries of the same faith and order, and who were conspicuous in organizing the original Union League. And, of course, these same good, true, and tried men had, through deception and an unmitigated duplicity, won the faith and confidence of the innocent and unsuspecting freedmen to such a degree that they would have willingly trusted even their souls into their hands.

They were told that freedom meant another thing of great importance, and without which they could never hope to be like white people, and this was the saving of money; the buying of comfortable homes to protect them in their old age, and to enable them to go into business as their former masters had done before them. They were then taken up in their imaginations to some ideal mountain, and there shown the glorious future that was in store for them if they would only save their money. And how radiant, fair and beauteous were those golden plains that loomed up in the perspective distance; there could be seen with an inward eye, happy and comfortable homes, and robust children basking in the sunshine of plenty, surrounded with pomp and splendor, joy and pleasure; such as is only known to a free and truly great people; all these were their sure inheritance. And if some were too old to see in the far off distance, by reason of ocular imperfection, they were made to see by the aid of false glasses that magnified in proportion a mile to the circular inch. After this impression was made by such whimsical and false representations, then came a general explanation of how all this comfort, splendor and greatness was to be acquired. The charter of this "institution" was read, explained and elucidated in such a simple manner that a wayfaring man need not have erred, or a fool been confounded. Congress had done this thing for their special benefit, and Abraham Lincoln had signed it, also, as a special favor;

and that they were the true, tried, and trusty men, who were to see to its faithful operation. As to the security and solvency of such an "institution" there could be no question, for it was as stable as the Government of the United States. All of its assets were to be in United States securities, such as bonds, treasury notes, &c., &c., and that there would be no investments or loans made, only upon the very best collaterals known to the country. And still this glorious "institution," for the special benefit of the nation's wards, extended greater inducements to habits of economy and industry than any known institution in this or any other country, and this, too, was, for the special benefit of the freed people. In this "institution," you could deposit from a nickel to the amount of one hundred thousand dollars, without the slightest objection by the President, Cashier or Board of Managers, and all would be strictly kept and charged to their own use. Infant freedmen could bring their rag, bottle and boot-black money, and put it into this safe and almost sanctified "institution," and that too, without let or hinderance, or any one to molest them or make them afraid. It was the very thing they needed in their present condition to bring them up to the same standard of citizenship with other members of this great and glorious commonwealth. And so it was, the old and young, the great and small, the deaf and dumb, the halt and lame, the blind, the near-sighted, and those who could see but little, all flocked in droves to deposit their small sums, their pittance savings and hard earnings, into this "institution" created and established for their special benefit. Old women thought no longer of putting money away in an old stocking, as they had done for generation after generation; there was no more fear of master finding out how much money they had, for so great was the benefit of this glorious "institution," that all other modes of saving money sunk into insignificance. There was no more use for old trunks, stockings and mattresses as things to put money in for safe keeping; these things that had been used by the colored people for nearly ten generations were now looked upon as extremely unsafe for such purposes; for since they were free all things were new, and of course there had to be a new way for doing everything under the new *regime*.

This "institution," in order that no portion of the country or any community or individual, should have an excuse for not being robbed, established branch banks in all the principal cities of the South, with full instructions to spare no one, nor regard any sex, condition or circumstances, in carrying out the main principles of the "institution." In some of these cities the business was very good, running up to nearly two hundred thousand dollars on deposit, and in such places the freedmen had pleasant dreams and hopeful visions. They had worked hard and stinted themselves of every luxury in order to arrive at that blissful haven that had been shown them from the delectable mountains; and no doubt they had a perfect right to be at ease in mind and heart when they considered into whose care and keeping their money and valuables were entrusted. Men that were tried and found true in everything that pertained to their interest, could not possibly do any wrong; their very countenance showed an inward honesty that dispelled every doubt at a moment's glance. If any man had the slightest suspicion lurking about his mind, it was only necessary for him to call at one of the good cashier's windows, and receive one of those gracious smiles from that officer, and it was certain he could depart in peace, in mind and conscience, and sin no more with such thoughts. So kind and obliging, so courteous and gentlemanly were these good men of the Freedmen's Savings and Trust Company that they could have easily passed for wingless angels.

For seven long years this happy repose was not disturbed or broken, nor the original confidence shaken. The freedmen still wended their way to the banking places, and the good cashiers still received their small sums without the slightest discernment of weariness or fatigue. Some freedmen had their fifty dollars, others their hundred, and a few had reached their thousand; and still they went as regular as the week would end to see the good cashier or amiable teller.

But, alas, there was an evil day in store for these innocent people that they little dreamed of. And so it was, one bright morning, when dissembling nature laughed at the rays of a cheerful sun, and innocent freedmen started with light hearts and peaceful minds to put in, as usual, an appearance at the banking house, they were greatly surprised when they found

the bank doors not thrown open as usual, nor the good cashiers at their accustomed places. There was a low whisper that went up through all the towns and cities, that this good "institution" had been overburdened, and consequently was forced to suspend—a word that puzzled almost every freedman to understand its meaning. They knew what the word "broke" meant, but it was impossible for them to understand the meaning of this word "suspended." Some of the more ignorant ones had it that the bank was "offended," instead of "suspended," and here and there men, women and children met in groups to discuss the meaning of this word that had caused the bank to be closed. They knew that they had put their money in this concern, and did not dream of being swindled out of it by such good, true and honest men, until, at last, the fact became so plain, by a persistent refusal to pay it on demand, that thousands were horror-stricken and gave up in despair. Children wept aloud for their pennies, and old men and women groined with their hearts overburdened with grief for their dollars that they supposed were now gone forever. Many had put their last farthing into this Savings and Trust "Institution," and now, as it had failed and refused to pay or return it on demand, as had been promised, they at once gave up all hope for the future.

That they had been deceived and imposed upon by the sweet talk and flattery of these pretended friends, no one can doubt; or that this scheme of wholesale robbery of three hundred thousand poor, illiterate and ignorant people, was not a preconcerted arrangement from the very beginning, no honest man would question for a moment, for so plain and clear did every act demonstrate their ultimate intentions when this thing was put into operation, that not one of those thieves have had the spirit to rise above public censure and condemnation to give an explanation. While thousands of colored men and women are to-day suffering from the effects and consequences of that steal, those shining lights and sweet-tongued projectors of that "institution" are living in pomp and splendor, away up in their Northern homes, where the lamentations of the people they have deceived and robbed will never reach them.

It has been argued, that no intentional wrong was meant or contemplated in the original plan of this Savings and Trust



Company, and that its failure was owing to circumstances that were entirely beyond the control of its officers. But an intelligent and honest public is not to be cajoled in their judgment by such excuses, especially when their own records condemn them as criminals. If they had been acting in good faith, and in the interest of the ignorant people for whom they were transacting business, why did they depart from the principles and rules that were to govern its operations and upon which the colored people relied to secure themselves against disaster? If, by such reckless and wanton disregard of the provisions of the original contract, the colored people, who were acting in good faith, were made the losers, who should be made to shoulder the responsibility but the parties who violated the original agreement? It is worse than useless to try to bolster up a sufficient excuse for such a crime, when every man who was concerned in the original scheme stands to-day black with guilt and crime, the legitimate fruits of his iniquitous conduct.

If the colored people of the South have learned nothing else since their emancipation, they have learned this lesson true and well; and though they have not deserted the carpet-bagger in politics, I would like to see any one of that stamp succeed in another Savings and Trust Company scheme. Four millions of money for their first lesson in the principles of banking is looked upon generally as too high a price for the amount of pleasure they found in it, and consequently thousands are contented to pursue the good old way of saving their small change. To say that they will get thirty-five per cent. on the dollar is guessing rather high, for by the time the commissioners get their slice out of the residue, the remainder will be too small to pay the fee. Thus the colored people of the South have paid four millions in cash, and ten years in offices of profit and emoluments, to keep the carpet-baggers among them, and still the end is not yet.

NOTE FOURTH.

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NOTE FOURTH RELATES TO THE EASY ASCENDANCY OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IN THE SOUTH, &C.

The easy ascendancy of the Republican party in many of the Southern States immediately after their reconstruction, is a matter that the Northern portion of the country has never rightly understood. It was not so much the result of the colored population outnumbering the whites in certain sections or localities, as it has been argued and represented. It is true that the colored element, as a mass, went solid in their voting privileges against the native whites at the outset, but this was owing to the conduct of the native whites on the one hand, and the influence and teachings of the carpet-bag element, then among them, on the other. The native whites, on their part, had not given up any of their prejudices toward the negroes as slaves, nor their hatred against the Yankee, engendered by the war; and being actuated by such feelings, they could not bring themselves to believe that emancipation, civil liberty and the elective franchise were established facts. There were yet some latent hopes that at least negro suffrage would prove a failure and be abolished as unconstitutional. And upon these notions some of the wisest and most intelligent men of the South counseled indifference and inaction among the people, or at least that portion whom they could influence. And if we also take into consideration the fact that a large proportion of the white population was at that time disqualified or disfranchised on account of participating in the rebellion, the easy and almost magical ascendancy of the Republican party in the South may be easily accounted for. For it is a well known fact, that at the close of the first general election for State officers the native whites took but little interest in it; the result of which action was not felt until they found themselves ruled and controlled by a set of new comers, without interest or right. It was too late then to question the validity of the election or legal right to

offices, for any hostile demonstrations in opposition to the then constituted authorities would have at once called the aid of the Federal Government to put it down; consequently there was no alternative left but submission, and the expiration of the term of office to which every one had been elected.

This being the case, the Southern whites had but one remedy left, and that was to organize themselves into a solid political association in opposition to what was then called carpet-bag rule and negro supremacy. The declaration of principles upon which they acted were such that no native colored man could accept or act with them without humiliation and shame to himself and race; so blind with passion and swayed with prejudice, that they scorned the idea of counting negro votes. They declared every act of Congress unconstitutional that had a tendency of conferring equal civil rights upon the negroes, and that the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments were a nullity, as being contrary to the genius and spirit of American institutions. Therefore they held out no inducements to the more intelligent colored men to act with them in bringing about a better state of things, but clung to their old pro-slavery ideas with a tenacity that has well nigh caused the loss of thousands of lives, and an ocean of blood, and through it all they could not succeed for the want of number and a change of policy.

To say that the colored people of the South arrayed themselves in opposition to the native whites from feelings of animosity and hatred, is erroneous and unjust to them in every particular. They being extremely ignorant, and easily led and swayed in their judgment, as well as excitable in their natures, to say nothing about their whimsical notions about freedom and the new order of things, any set of men that would have condescended to pander to their passions and their crude notions, coupled with fair promises, could have controled them, be they from the North or South. For it cannot be denied that, notwithstanding their former status as slaves, and that they had been liable to all the evils attendant upon such an institution, yet there was still existing as had always existed, up to the time of their emancipation, an attachment, love and sympathy between master and slave that no change in their civil relation could eradicate. Neither liberty, freedom, civil rights or their enfranchisement, had any effect in changing this natural senti-

ment of the heart in the former servant or master; these were too deeply rooted in their natures by long and intimate associations, to be cast away in a day. The recollection of valuable past services of a former servant, and that his freedom and the loss of his services was from no violent act of his, but the result of the long and bloody carnage between the States; the intelligent and sympathetic master has always been willing to overlook every mistake and blunder as the result of ignorance on the one hand, and the seductive teachings of the white hypocrites that were among them on the other. To illustrate and make more plain my meaning, I cannot do so better than by recurring to a few facts that have occurred a number of times, and that thousands can bear testimony of; that is, I have known colored men to be very blustering and independent on election day and would apparently treat their former owners with indignity if they attempted to control or advise them contrary to their views and judgment. They would sometimes curse and swear, rip and snort, and say many insulting things while elated over the exercise of their new privileges, but it all meant but little, for as the sun went down so also this innocent excitement subsided, and on the morrow, they would go with a bold-faced innocence and ask a favor of the very men who, on the day before, they would not allow to speak to them—and on the other hand, while such former owners might have hesitated to grant such request until they had reprimanded them for their conduct, there are but few instances where they have been turned away without such request being granted. So that, to say that there has been any deep-seated malice or spiteful revenge existing in the hearts of either the native white or colored population of the South, is an accusation that is false in every particular. In making this statement, I am not to be understood as attempting to disguise the fact of the many massacres and cold-blooded murders that have been perpetrated upon the blacks in almost every Southern State since their liberation, for there is but little excuse that can be offered in extenuation of these crimes. But if we consider the cause out of which sprung these conflicts, we may even there discern a want of hate and malice toward the colored people as a race; for it is an undeniable fact that all of these conflicts were the results of political strife, lead on by some hot-headed fanatics,

prompted by self-interest, and who always escaped without injury to themselves. Such men have always been willing to bring on a conflict by their boasting talk and harangues, but as soon as there were any signs of danger they have always been found wanting. Many a colored man has lost his life by allowing himself to be influenced by the false teachings of these office-holders. If there had been more honesty of purpose, and a more sacred regard for the oath of office as well as a better intention to do right, than has been manifested to the contrary in thousands of instances, there would have been less cause for complaint in, as well as out of, the Republican party. But when we consider the deception and dishonest practices of the leaders in this party, it needs but little understanding to solve the mystery of its gradual declination and inevitable dissolution as a party in the Southern States. I have ever contended that it never has had a permanent foundation in these States, from the fact that the men who introduced it among the ignorant masses were so corrupt and greedy for gain that its purest principles became contaminated and subverted to the foulest purpose before it took root. No white man acted with it at the South without he was sure of reaping a pecuniary benefit. An office was always a condition precedent to being a white Republican, and upon no other condition would they stick. This being the case, the honest colored people could get only a particular class to affiliate or act with them in sustaining, as they thought, the principles of the party that claimed to have made them free. For it cannot be denied that a white man at one time had to pass through a severe ordeal to get his hash on that side of the political fence, or to face the music of a severe ostracism; and especially was this made trying when honesty of purpose and strict integrity was wanting in the position he occupied. There have only been enough acting with the party to fill the civil offices of the State and county, and outside of this number white Republicans were few and far between. There is as great a difference between the Republican party South, compared to that of the same party North, as there is between day and night. Here it is made up of ignorance, with a few intelligent men to direct and control it after their own fashion, and to make what they can out of it, without any regard to its principles. It exists only in name, has

no foundation, and is liable to become extinct as soon as there ceases to be money or profit in it, as has been the case in Georgia. And this is the principal cause of all the trouble and strife that has engaged the attention of the General Government for the past ten years. It has been a war of ignorance against intelligence, wealth against poverty and honesty against dishonesty, resulting in oppression and hardship to the weak, of crime upon the innocent as well as the guilty; and almost producing a state of anarchy from the Potomac to the Rio Grande, and still the end is not yet.

This state of affairs cannot exist much longer without serious injury to all classes, for there must be a better feeling between the two races in the future in political matters, if not the consequence will be ruin to all. The color line, white league and war of race doctrine must be discarded, and a majority of the people, irrespective of race or color, must rule and govern the States. For it is an incontrovertible fact, that the interests of both races at the South are identical, and what effects one effects both, and unless there is a mutual sentiment of good will and feeling existing between them there can be no peace or lasting prosperity. For a continued spirit of antagonism between the two races must, sooner or later, result in a conflict the end of which cannot be imagined. The weaker party must go to the wall in such an unequal contest and end in their total extermination. Therefore the colored people must begin to learn how to act for themselves, and to use their own judgment in matters pertaining to their own interests; for there has been already too much dependence upon others to direct them in matters that have had rather a tendency to retard their progress and advancement than to increase it. They must also learn that they can be liberal in their views and independent in their political action, without fear or molestation; they must understand that their fears cannot always be pacified by the presence of bayonets, but that they are to act like all other citizens, exercising every right and privilege, with the assurance that the law of the land is strong enough to enforce every right and redress every wrong. They must understand that the elective franchise was bestowed upon them to be exercised in an intelligent manner, and not as party slaves, without the right to go beyond a party line, but as American citizens, hav-

ing a perfect right without being questioned to affiliate with any of the political parties of the country. And lastly, they must understand that freedom backed up by bayonets or sustained under military rule is not worth possessing, from the fact, that as soon as such props are taken away those who have trusted in them will fall into the worst of slavery.

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### NOTE FIFTH.

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NOTE FIFTH RELATES TO THE FUTURE COURSE AND POLICY OF THE COLORED PEOPLE OF THE SOUTH, &c.

I have explained to the best of my ability, information and knowledge, the introduction of the Freedmen's Bureau, its operations and effect, as well as a description of the Union League with its managers and officers. I have also described in a concise manner, the Reconstruction Conventions, and I have not left out the great swindling concern under the name and style of the Freedmen's Savings and Trust Company, and I have also hinted at the rise and probable decline of the Republican party in the Southern States. This I found to be necessary in order to more fully set forth my views as to what should be the future course and policy of the colored element of the South. It cannot be denied that this particular class, numbering some five millions or more, and forming as they do, the principal laboring class of this section of country, are not of great moment and consideration to the whole country. In this connection we will not consider any question touching their social status, for we are confident that no legislation can ever reach or remove the prejudices that now exist from a previous condition as well as color. Nor do I believe the more intelligent among them ask for social equality with any other class or race. For

while laws may be passed and enforced protecting every right belonging to them as citizens, there can be no law that can change the sentiments of the mind sufficiently to force social equality where it does not exist from habit and association. The most hot-headed fanatics, and bigoted equal-rights advocates, knew that no civil rights bill could ever be enforced against principles of secondary nature, and it was upon the knowledge of this fact that all civil rights bills and their discussion, have ceased in the the Halls of Congress, or to agitate the country. Therefore, it is not the social status of the colored race that we are to consider as of any importance, for that is a question of which time alone holds the destiny, and must control it in spite of any positive law to the contrary notwithstanding. The civil and political status of the colored race is the great question of the hour, to be adjusted and settled for the future peace and prosperity of the country, and every citizen that will aid and assist in this work is a true patriot and lover of his country.

Whenever the colored people are assured, upon principles of good faith, that every right that is guaranteed by the constitution and law will be respected and enforced, then they will feel themselves sufficiently strong to act and affiliate indiscriminately with the different political parties of the country; but until this fear is removed and such assurances given by open declarations and acts, sufficiently to dispel their doubts, they will still cling to and support the worst of men for office, upon political principles more favorable to them and the privileges they enjoy. There is no use to argue that there must be a change on the one side only, for the change that is to effect anything or produce any good result is reciprocal and mutual in principle. The conservative or independent element must hold out the same inducement and adopt the same just and humane principles toward this class of citizens as has been held out by the original Republican party, recognizing, maintaining and enforcing every right of the colored as well as the white man. Again, they must have every doubt removed as to their political privileges as citizens, and that they will be recognized politically according to their ability and merit in acting with and assisting any other party in electing the best men to office. No doubt the Democratic Conservative party has under-

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gone a radical change of principle within the past five years, that is, judging from the declarations recently made in National Convention, but it is left for them to go still further in their declaration upon this important subject in order to insure peace and good order in the country, and for the establishment of good government for all.

When these questions effecting the rights of the colored population are settled by each political party in a manner that they may act without doubt, then there will be no longer any need of Federal interference with the domestic affairs of the States. It is equal justice and equal protection before the law, and the full and complete enjoyment of every right that is guaranteed by the Constitution and laws that the leading colored men claim and exact for themselves and the masses they represent, and these conditions must be set forth as among the fundamental principles of every political party that expects their support and co-operation. It would be extremely unreasonable for them to act with a party without exacting the same assurances for the faithful observance of their rights as citizens as they received from the Republican party. It was only by the observance of these rights by the Republican party that they identified themselves with, and supported its principles and policy all the way, the result of which action was to receive a little good and produce much evil and injury to the country generally by electing bad or inferior men to office, and as long as there was no other party that offered the same inducement or adopted the same principles of equal justice and rights to all, regardless of color, race, or previous condition, they had no disposition to leave it or deny it their support, though it became putrid with corruption and rascality in every other respect. It was upon this principle that the carpet-baggers and scalawags were able to control it and exert such an influence over the colored masses. The watchword of these leaders was rights, equal rights to all! and, though having everything else in view but the faithful carrying out of these principles, they were always smart enough not to do any act that tended to falsify those words of power upon parchment. They have rather, when pressed for an excuse, done many things that have went more to sustain these declarations than against them. For it cannot be denied, that though they have committed great

wrongs in the management and administration of such State governments as fell into their hands, yet they have made a few laws that have proved beneficial to the colored population, and which have went far in protecting them in the enjoyment of their rights as citizens; and, so long as this was the case, every other act, right or wrong, good or bad, was sustained by the popular vote. They could very well afford to enact a few general laws and appoint a few ambitious colored men to some small place for the price that was paid and the opportunity it gave them for enriching themselves out of the public coffers. For no one can doubt that it was anything more or less with them than a business transaction out of which they expected a handsome profit.

The opposition party, from motive of prejudice or shortsightedness, have done nothing until very recently to stay the evil of the mal-administration of the Republican party. It is true they have argued upon the stump and through the press with an earnestness that portended the deepest sincerity for a change in the policy of each Republican administration, but without much effect, because the change they asked for was not such as could be effected by appealing to the administration, but such alone as the people in their sovereign capacity could produce. They seemed to have had no idea of the popular sentiment of that class of voters that they invited to co-operate with them. The colored voters cared but little about questions of taxation, or who squandered the public money; they felt but little of the burden, from the fact that they had but little or nothing to lose, and beyond the rights and privileges that they enjoyed, there was no interest at stake or anything else to interest them in the administration of the Government, and so long as these rights were not infringed or violated by open declaration by the party they supported, they were satisfied and willing to maintain it in power. This is the great blunder and mistake that has been committed by the Conservative and other parties of the country desiring the support and co-operation of the colored voters. Thus it can be plainly seen that they have used the wrong argument and adopted the wrong means for the furtherance of their plans and for accomplishing the ends they had in view. For instance, South Carolina, having as she undoubtedly did, a colored population that greatly exceeded

the white and that maintained and kept in power a Republican administration for nearly ten years, and during which time the State was robbed, plundered and brought to the very verge of bankruptcy. In vain did the Conservative element point out this approaching dissolution of the civil structure of the State, and its inevitable ruin without a change of policy. But no argument was listened to by the ignorant colored voters as long as the corrupt and demoralized leaders could hold up equal rights and equal justice before the law, in contradistinction to the principles of all other political parties in the State; and entrenched behind so formidable a bulwark as this political theory was to the ignorant colored masses, these political thieves were enabled to set the law at defiance and commit the highest crimes known to the law of the land without fear or dread of punishment from any outside power or authority. The leaders there as well as elsewhere, where they have had full and complete sway, were in an eternal commotion, broil and strife among themselves about the public money or the bartering away of high places.

The members of the Legislature were among the most ignorant colored country people who could be used for any purpose by the artful and schemy leaders. The officers of the State, the Governor inclusive, were so corrupt that the stench of their corruption became so offensive at one time that it was thought necessary by a still more corrupt Legislature, to investigate some of them, to prevent a political epidemic from breaking out in their own party and destroying themselves. This state of affairs continued, and was likely to continue for years to come if the Conservative element of the State had not changed the principles of their party in such a manner as to conform as near as possible to the just and humane principles of the Republican party, inviting all citizens irrespective of color or race, to assist in the redemption of the State from ruin and destruction. This change, and the assurances pledged in good faith, by the best and most honorable citizens of the State, that every man, woman and child's rights should be protected and respected as guaranteed by the Constitution and laws of the land, and, that there should be no civil or political distinction in the exercise and enjoyment of these rights, was the means of an instantaneous political

change followed by a change of administration of the Government out of the hands of a corrupt and plundering set of interlopers, to that of an honest and peaceful administration of the affairs of the people. The Conservative native element hesitated long before they would consent to renounce their old effete dogma, "that this was a white man's Government" and that universal suffrage as conferred upon the negro, was contrary to the original principles and spirit of American institutions as interpreted and gathered from the meaning and intention of the founders. For, while they did not care so much about a particular class voting, if that class could be so controlled as to vote with them, they knew that an acknowledgment of this right would also be an acknowledgment of everything incident to such privileges; and that the same class, while having the right to vote, would also be entitled to be voted for. But after a long and persistent course to the contrary, they found that they could neither succeed nor carry out their principles, they at last changed their platform and principles so as to conform as near as possible to the principles of the Republican party in its doctrine of universal suffrage and equality before the law. When this change took place and the Conservatives layed aside every objectionable principle to the colored population, then also came a change of over thirty thousand votes in one campaign and a Conservative administration elected. This change of the political sentiment and principles of the native whites of South Carolina were looked upon by the more intelligent and honest colored men as a new emancipation from a political bondage that had oppressed them ever since the right and privilege had been granted, and though they regretted the deplorable condition to which the State had been brought by the party they supported, yet there was no other alternative for them but to continue to act with it as the best they could do under the circumstances. The change in South Carolina was unlike that which took place in Georgia four years before. In that State, there was no open declaration of a change of principle by the opposing party, for the reason that there was no urgent necessity demanding such a revolution in the political sentiment of the white population to save the State from a ruinous misrule. Again, the white population of Georgia has always outnumbered the colored, and if we consider the num-

ber of disqualified voters we will then find the proportion too small to be of any consequence in changing the general result in a fair political contest; and, if we also consider the continued removal of this disability from the citizens by Congress year after year we can see at once that it could not have been very long, if from the offset the colored voters outnumbered the whites, before it would have been even-balanced or a majority in favor of the native whites. But the main cause of so complete success on the part of the Democratic party of Georgia was owing to the bad leadership of the Republican party in that State. They were a miserable cowardly set of unprincipled renegades, who, after the first defeat of the Republican party, deserted their ignorant followers and left them to the tender mercies of their Democratic opponents, the consequence of which action was to place the State politically, where it could never be changed by the popular vote of an ignorant and illiterate majority. What was needed in Georgia for the promotion of Republican interest was intelligent and honest leaders to manage the political affairs of that class of Republicans who could only vote by signs and symbols. For it cannot be denied, that at the time the State underwent a political change, the native colored people had but little to do with the arrangement and direction of their political affairs, they being entrusted altogether to the carpet-baggers and scalawags who swarmed the State immediately after their enfranchisement in search of office and political plunder. When the colored people of Georgia found that they had been deserted and sold by their treacherous leaders and the party left demoralized and in ruin, thousands took no more interest in it, but concluded to act for their own individual security. Therefore, to say that it was through fraud and intimidation altogether, that the Democratic party succeeded in Georgia in carrying large Republican districts, is not true, although I would not pretend to say that there have not been instances of high-handed fraud perpetrated in that State as well as all others. But I still contend that the principal cause of so general and complete success of the Democratic party in Georgia was desertion and guilty criminal knowledge on the part of the leaders of the Republican party who were in fear of the just punishment of the law for the crimes they had committed while in power.

The Republican Governor, Congressmen and State Legislators, left the State in disguise, or under cover of night, to parts unknown, leaving to represent them and the Republican party during their absence, a still more cowardly and sickly set of Federal office-holders who depended upon the Federal Government to protect them from all their imaginable horrors of the Ku-Klux-Klan. From this comparison of the situation of South Carolina and Georgia, it can be readily seen that there is a vast difference in their political condition. One had a two-thirds population of colored to one of white, while the other was nearly balanced, or if anything the whites in the majority. Georgia made one fatal blunder in 1869, when she expelled the colored members from the Legislature on account of color and race, but this, though of Democratic origin, was not carried into effect by them without the assistance and co-operation of a set of scalawags that had been sent there by negro votes. These scalawags entered into an agreement with the Democrats that they would absent themselves on a particular day set apart for the consideration of the question, and according to this agreement the colored members were left a hopeless minority in the House. Thirty or forty members were at once denied the privilege of voting upon this question upon the common law grounds of interest, a species of injustice that has no precedent in equitable or criminal procedure; the result was the expulsion of every colored member but three—who claimed seven-eighths of white blood under a certain Georgia law.

This injustice, perpetrated by the State Legislature, was promptly met by Congressional interference, and the colored members reinstated. This put an end to all attempts to deny the colored citizens of Georgia equal civil and political rights, and has been the means of a complete recognition of every right in Georgia. As to Florida, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana, the political affairs in these States are in a better condition than they were a few years ago, but not altogether such as the country at large would like to see, for the general good, prosperity and peace of all.

## NOTE SIXTH.

NOTE SIXTH RELATES TO THE CHANGE OF POLICY AND PRINCIPLE OF  
THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY, &C.

As I have already stated that there is no other inducement or consideration upon which the colored voters of the South can feel themselves safe in leaving the Republican party to affiliate with any other political party of this country, except such party, or parties, embody into their platform and principles the same equal, political and civil rights principles as are contained in the platform and doctrine of the Republican party, as well as giving such guarantee for the faithful observance of the same for the future. If they are citizens, then they claim those rights that are incident to citizenship, and no more. Such rights are indispensable to them as a free people in a Republican government, for their own security and preservation. It is the desire of every intelligent colored man that there should be peace and good will existing between the races of the South, and that everything that can be done ought to be done to bring about a more prosperous condition of affairs in the country generally. Ten years of political slavery to one party has done nothing but produce conflict after conflict, and kept the States in a disordered and unsettled condition, producing almost general poverty to the one class. Thousands of colored men have had to undergo a suffering and privation that is impossible to be described on account of the political conflicts between the two races, to say nothing about the continued anxiety and alarm the whole country has been subjected to on account of the threatening aspect of affairs. To say that these conflicts can continue much longer without producing some permanent injury to the country, is a mistake and a delusion; for an evil must come out of so much political disorder, and produce strife between two distinct classes of citizens inhabiting the same country; and in the event of such a result, from such a cause, the weaker and more ignorant class must succumb to the stronger and more intelligent. Yet there is no necessity for

such a calamity to befall the country as a war of races, if the right steps are taken to restore confidence and good faith, and the revival of that good relation that has heretofore existed between the white and colored people of the South. We all heartily wish for a peaceful solution of these difficulties and the permanent settlement of every question that has heretofore agitated the country in regard to the negro. For which reason I heartily endorse, and concur in, President Hayes' Southern policy, as the best and only way out of this political wilderness. I have no fears about the result of that policy, politically; for, if it does not make the political condition of affairs in these States any better, I am certain it will make them no worse. For we find, year after year, the sentiment of the country changing upon this question as fast as the feeling engendered by the war became cooler and more passive. For while the American people, from a sense of justice and humanity, are determined that no part of the Constitution shall be infringed by any section of this vast Republic, or that any citizen shall be illegally deprived of his freedom and such rights as are guaranteed by the laws thereof, yet they cannot afford to allow a state of civil disorder and political strife to continue in a particular section of the country, to the manifest injury of the whole, and which at times have had an alarming tendency of encroaching upon the very fundamental principles of the Government by the constant use of the military power for the settling of political disputes. The negroes have been the hobby-horses and beasts of burden long enough to have rest. They have grown lean, and have been brought almost to the very verge of starvation, while being used as political donkeys for the services of a few artful and crafty politicians. They have been made the political slaves and dupes of a set of unprincipled renegades long enough, who have never, from the very beginning, had any other object in view but the furtherance of their own personal interest, at the expense of every interest of the colored man. I contend that, if the colored people are citizens by law, then the law faithfully administered is sufficient to protect them in the enjoyment of their rights as citizens. They must become men sooner or later in the transaction of their own affairs, and all fears and imaginary wrongs that they have been led to believe will come upon them when the speculating



carpet-bagger leaves, must be discarded as unmitigated falsehoods, invented for a purpose. They must understand that their liberties are not to be propped up and maintained by the military power of the Government as long as the doors of the court-houses are open, and they, in common with all other citizens, have a perfect and undeniable right to enter and have every right enforced and every wrong redressed. They have been made to believe too many stories as to their future treatment in case of a change in the administration and policy of the government, evincing, in my judgment, a spirit that shows an involuntary conscientiousness of their own unfitness for the duties and responsibilities of citizenship; and as long as they are lead in a solid mass, as so many slaves who dare not cross the party line, just so long will they be kept in poverty and ignorance, to be used as political tools for creating strife and mischief to themselves. Every other class of citizens in this country seem to be in a thriving condition, and prospering in every conceivable way, except the colored population; and it is not because these other classes are so much more intelligent and industrious than the colored element, but because they do not concern themselves so much about politics and office-seeking; nor are they led in solid masses against any particular party. For instance, the German, Irish, French, and even the Jews—though they are united in every other respect from religious principles—are often divided in their political opinions; and this is the case with all other classes of citizens except the colored race, who are wedded to one particular party, the consequence of which action, has been to keep themselves behind every other race in prosperity and usefulness.

They are still slaves in fact, without any judgment or will of their own. They submit to every condition of a slavish party without a murmur, and ratify every bargain that is made by the so-called leaders without questioning for one moment its propriety or expediency. They have been voting for, and sustaining in office, a set of strangers and interlopers for ten years without receiving any more recognition than the same services would have been rewarded by the Democratic or any other political organization. The best and most intelligent colored men have been kept down, shoved out, and shown the cold shoulder and denied every opportunity to do their own people a ser-

vice or to represent them in any high position that came direct from the appointing power. They have been told year after year that it was not time for such things, but in times of political campaigns they have been led into slaughter pens and left to be murdered by an infuriated mob of violent men while trying to support or defend some cowardly leader, resulting sometimes in the loss of their own lives and the starvation of their families. Thus a war has been kept up for nearly ten years between the races of the South that has had a tendency of producing a state of disorder and strife, which, if continued, cannot but impoverish and ruin the colored population for all time to come. There must be a change of sentiment, habit and conduct, in order to bring the country back to its former condition of prosperity, as well as for the peace, happiness and security of all classes of citizens. The colored and white citizens of these States must act together in the future for the establishment and promotion of good government, and that, too, without so much regard to party names or political thieves. A new and independent departure is needed, or a general reformation in the doctrine and principles in the present parties ought to take place sooner or later, and such principles established and maintained as shall insure the support and co-operation of any citizen, without regard to color or previous condition. The color line must be obliterated, party slavery abolished, and every citizen must be allowed, without fear, intimidation or molestation, to act upon his own judgment or conscientious conviction, no matter what party his judgment or interest may incline him to support. For common sense and ten years of experience, has well demonstrated this fact, that the peculiar situation of the colored people in a government like the United States, make it necessary for them to give up all attempts to be a distinct ruling class in any State or community—no matter how largely they may preponderate in population; for such attempts will always, as they have heretofore done, produce nothing but mischief and crime, and be the sure means of retarding their progress in the attainment of a higher standard of citizenship.

## NOTE SEVENTH.

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NOTE SEVENTH RELATES TO PRESIDENT HAYES' SOUTHERN POLICY.

Whatever may be the opinion of certain Southern Radical politicians regarding the President's Southern policy, as a departure from the principles of the party that elected him to office, there can be no doubt that such a course will ultimately result in the pacification of our present troubles, and the establishment of a permanent peace and good order to the whole country.

Speculating politicians can read at a moment's glance this awful mandate and handwriting upon the wall, that tells them in unmistakable language, that they must, sooner or later, give way to this righteous judgment against their further attempts to rule this section by the aid of military power. It is the death knell and funeral requiem to that imported stock of Federal office-holders who have heretofore occupied every place of profit or fee as if upon principles of feudal tenure or Roman conquest, such as is not known to any principle of free government, and for this reason, if no other, they have a perfect right to complain of such a policy as contrary to their present interests.

If I considered that such a policy had a tendency of injuring the colored people of the South, and retarding their progress in the attainment of intellectual culture, wealth and general prosperity, I would oppose it as an unjust course toward them, but it cannot have such a tendency under the circumstances. The situation of the colored population in these States cannot be made any worse than what it is at present. They need now an emancipation from a political bondage, as much as they needed twelve years ago an emancipation from civil slavery, as well as a chance to become men and citizens in fact, under the laws and Constitution of the United States.

Every attempt at force has failed to restore order in these States; the people only have submitted while Federal soldiers

were quartered in their midst, and bristling bayonets told them of their departed liberties and the establishment of despotism. For with a patience made invincible by eternal hate, they have manifested a determination to have no peace, save that which comes from the free expression of the people to regulate and control their own domestic affairs of the States, without the interference of the Federal Government.

I consider the President's course as a fitting test to try the sincerity of all those loud-mouthed politicians that have heretofore preached equal rights and an unswerving devotion to principles. If they are honest they will still remain among us, regardless of office or political influence, and become in fact citizens identified with, as well as interested in, the growth and prosperity of the country. But I have my doubts and a different opinion of the majority of those who have heretofore held office under what may be rightly termed military tenure, for whenever their political interest shall cease, and the chance to speculate in politics shall have ended, then their mission among us will end also. I speak here of the wily politicians, and not of those honest Northern men who have seen fit to settle among us with honest motives; we welcome them, and I am confident that I speak the sentiment of all, when I say we welcome them in our midst, no matter what may be their political opinions. President Hayes could not have done otherwise as a statesman and patriot, than to take the military props from under the State Governments of Louisiana and South Carolina, or remand them back to a territorial condition. He had sufficient guaranty that the peace should be kept, that there should be no violent acts committed, nor any right of the colored people infringed, but that the contest should be in a civil way before the courts. This was all that he could exact from the contending parties, and all he had authority to demand. The result so far has proven satisfactory to all lovers of peace and order, and no doubt will bring about a lasting prosperity to all classes of citizens.

The South has it in her power now to show the Northern portion of this country that she has accepted in good faith every amendment to the Constitution, and that every right of her colored citizens shall be protected and enforced. The President's policy is an opportunity offered for the establish-

ment of friendly relations between all classes, and the total abolition of the color line; the beginning of a negotiation that will restore confidence and faith, where doubts and fears have heretofore controlled the mind and actuated the judgment. While this Southern policy of President Hayes will have a decided tendency to cool the political ambition of the colored people, and to dispel their visionary notions of honor and fame through political conquest, it will undoubtedly direct them to nobler and more useful fields of occupation, and be the commencement of an industrial and intellectual career, that will fit them in a few years more properly for the exercise and enjoyment of every high privilege belonging to freemen, as well as the discharge of every important duty and responsibility of citizens of the United States.

The political warfare in which they have been engaged for the past ten years as common privates, or indigent mercenaries, has done nothing toward their general improvement intellectually, but, on the contrary, it has had a powerful influence in bringing about a demoralization to the whole race, that can only be successfully arrested by the merciful intervention of providence. No doubt the elective franchise was bestowed upon the freedmen of the South for their protection, and to be exercised with judgment, and possibly with intelligence, but every year has demonstrated the fact, that this inestimable boon has been subverted through the wicked machinations of artful and crafty politicians, in a manner that has retarded their progress in everything that pertained to their moral and intellectual culture. What then should be the future course and policy of the colored population, viewing the situation from the present aspect of affairs, that is, if the President's policy should have a tendency of placing these State Governments into the hands of a political party that they have heretofore opposed. Does not every consideration of duty tell them in plain and unmistakable language, to turn their attentions immediately to those things that shall fit them and enable them to discharge more properly the duties pertaining to their own individual interests as well as those of members of their society?

Unless our people become more intelligent than what they are, as a mass, they need not expect much recognition as a political body in a Republic like this of the United States,

where virtue, morality and intelligence will, in the future, be the pre-requisites to every honorable station among the people.

The way and manner in which the colored people of the South have been led and controlled in politics by the interlopers and adventurers in the past, has been entirely against their interest in every respect. They did not see it at the first, but every year has proven it to be a fact beyond a reasonable doubt. It has been the means of causing them to neglect every opportunity of educating themselves. It has produced a state of thriftlessness, indolence and vagrancy, unnatural to the colored race, and in contra-distinction to one of their principal characteristics. Being blinded with ignorant infatuation and ideal political zeal, they have been made to believe that education and intelligence are of no consequence to a people. For, having seen that they enjoy the same rights and privileges that the educated and intelligent enjoy, without these qualifications, they have become arrogant in these false notions, and have neglected everything pertaining to their intellectual and moral culture, to say nothing of the idle and lazy habits they have fallen into from an unwise indulgence in political matters.

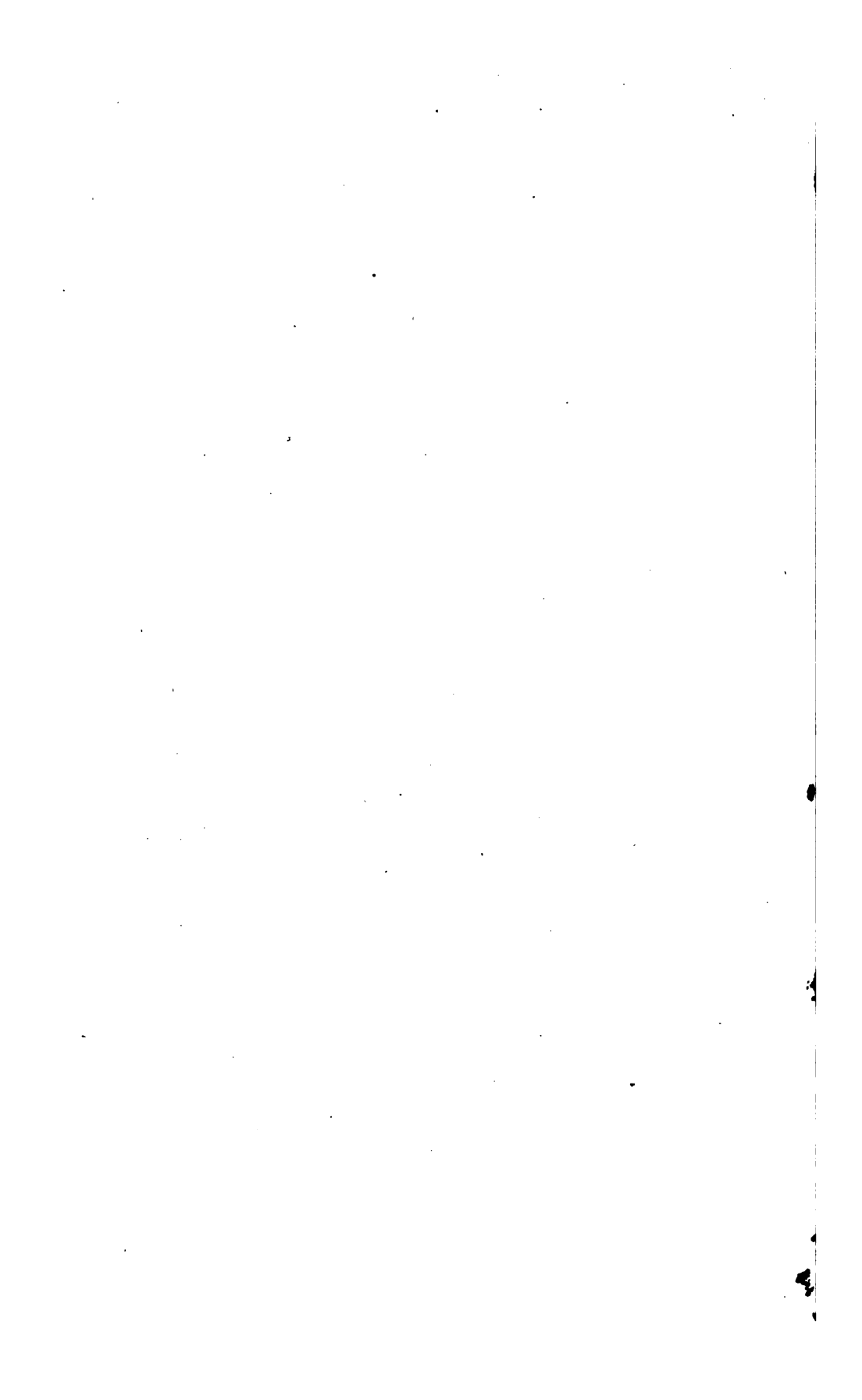
What intelligent man is there, with a spark of common decency and propriety left, that has not been disgusted at the political farce and humbug of exercising the right of suffrage in times of elections among the colored people in the rural districts, and in the same proportion in the towns and cities? The amount of ignorance and stupidity shown on almost every occasion; the want of judgment and common sense to declare their own will, has, indeed, made universal suffrage doubtful and dangerous as a right, without some kind of qualification. It was this view of the situation that caused, and has continued, the great contest between the Southern whites, the colored people, and the carpet-baggers in these States, and the prolific source of all the corruption and misgovernment that this section has been subjected to since the day of reconstruction. Therefore if the President's policy does nothing else but restore peace and order to the country, and insure a more honest and faithful administration of affairs to this section, regardless of parties or politics, the people will be benefitted. I have no doubt, that if the people will exercise wisdom and judgment, instead of being actuated by passion and prejudice, with the

assistance of a neutral administration, the South will enter upon a new prosperity and progressiveness that will place her upon an equal footing with any other section of the Union. It is this that she needs at this present time, to resuscitate and give her new life for the prosecution of her future mission. Political wrangles, nor the continued disputes and squabbles about office and place, will do nothing toward bringing about that desired prosperity that we so much need; but on the contrary, it will continue to do that which it has been doing for the past ten years—destroying every incentive or inducement among the people to engage in industrial pursuits, or to improve themselves morally and intellectually. It will continue a State of disorder and violence that will eventually end in the destruction of the very foundation of civil society, and leave us with a standing army and a military despotism as the the only conservatories of the peace. As it is an undeniable fact that the existence and perpetuation of the institution of slavery in these States was based upon ignorance and a want of moral courage among the people so held in servitude; and as the theory of regulating that institution and preventing it from clashing and coming in conflict with, and contaminating the fundamental principles of our Republican institutions, was considered the highest ability of Southern statesmanship, so intelligence, morality, and a just pride for the maintainance and perpetuation of every right and privilege of freemen, are the only means that will destroy prejudice and caste, and demand that recognition among all the people, irrespective of color, that our race are entitled to as citizens of the United States. The people care but little who occupy the offices or sit in high places, so that the laws are faithfully and impartially executed, and the Government honestly administered in the interest of the people, and for the prosperity of the whole country. Politicians and office-seekers will always preach this, that and the other, for selfish purposes and to carry their points; they are all capable of turning to suit the wind and tide, and the greater the politician, the greater his elasticity for extending or rebounding in principles or doctrine, and the sooner the majority of these *Post Bellum* political toads that infest almost every community, are consigned their proper places in society the better it will be for the whole country. As I have heretofore

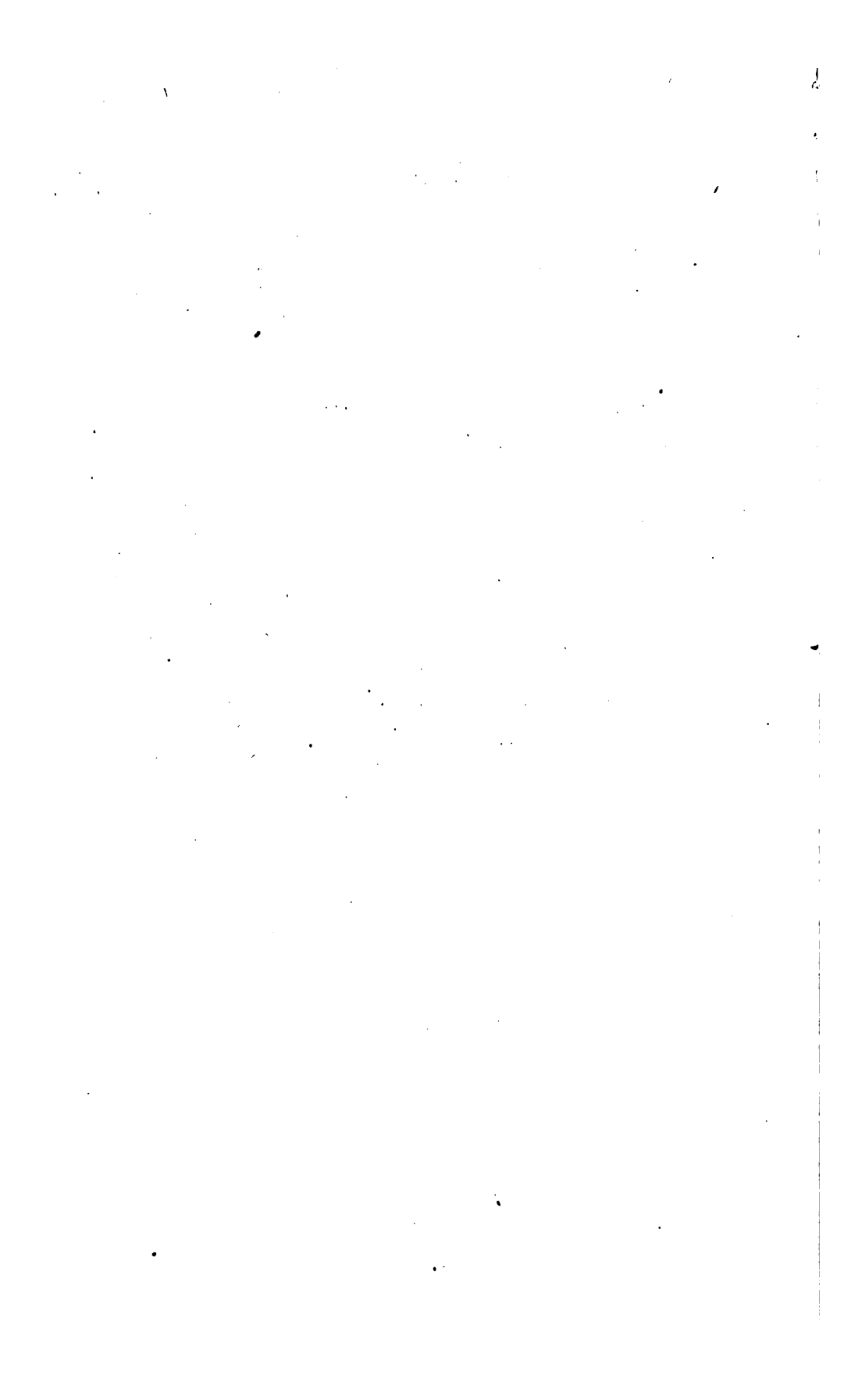
said, I endorse and concur with Mr. Hayes in his Southern policy upon patriotic principles alone, and because I know no other course that he can pursue that will bring about that peace and order that we so much need in this section for the security and protection of the rights of citizens.











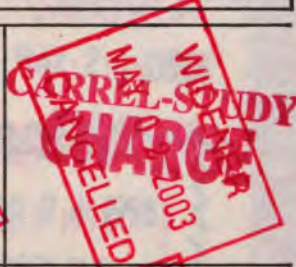
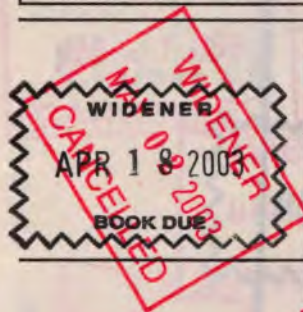


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